

Schuchardt's archive and the 'lost' Asian-Portuguese creoles

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Portuguese in Asia

- A 1708 memorial by the protestant priests Op den Akker and Thornton of the Portuguese church of Batavia (quoted in Lopes 1936: 67-68):

“The portuguese language is used daily and privately by the slaves of the families who come from Ceylon and the [Coromandel] Coast; by all the owners of the slaves and their children in their daily interaction with the slaves and the indigenous christians; by the families and people who come from Siam, Malacca, Bengal, the Coromandel Coast, the island of Ceylon, the Malabar coast, Surat and even Persia; and even the heathens who live in this city and trade with the christians or their slaves learn to speak portuguese.”



Hugo Schuchardt (1842-1927)



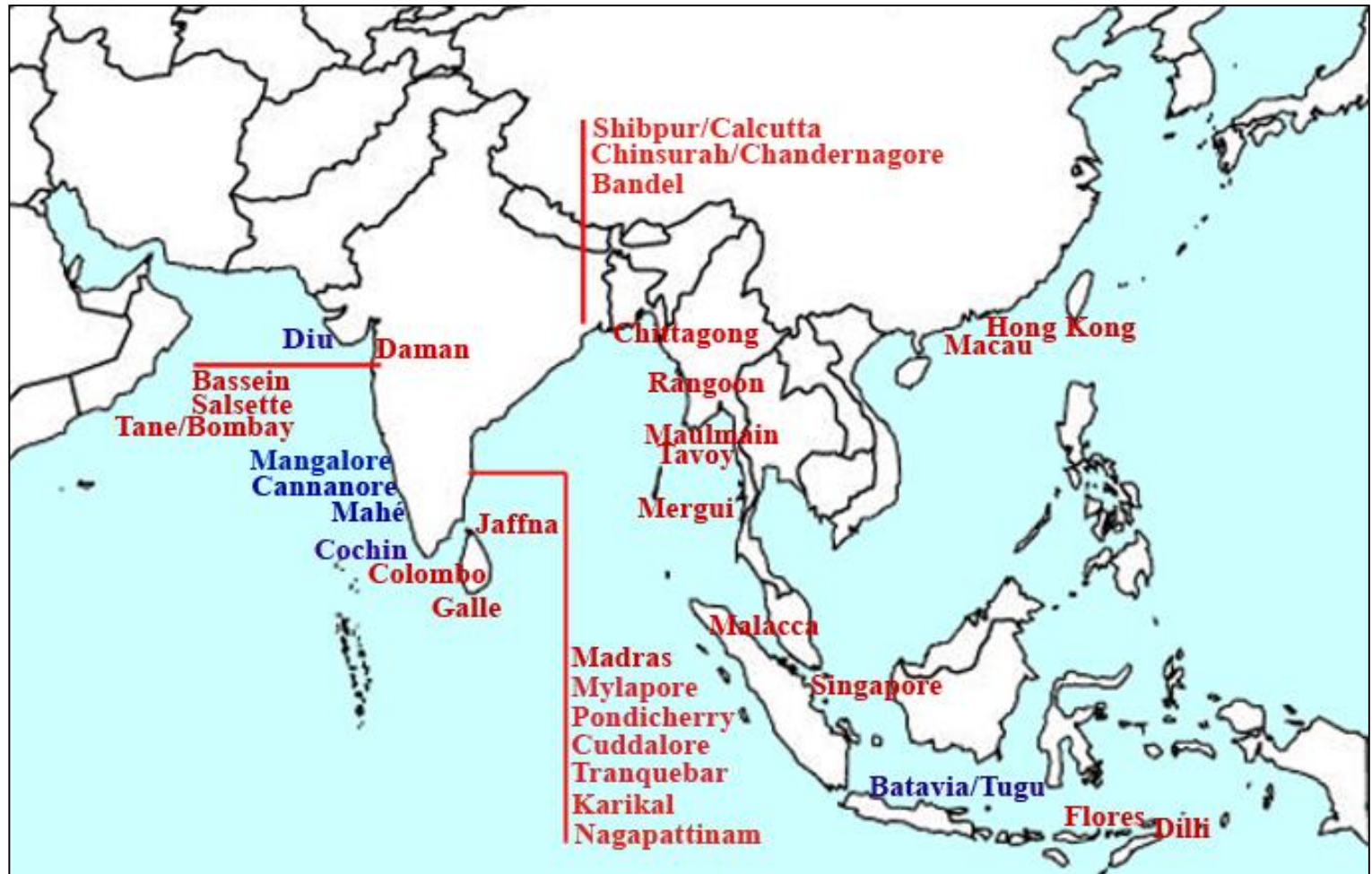
Hugo Schuchardt (1842-1927)

- **1882**: Kreolische Studien II. Über das Indoportugiesische von Cochim.
- **1883**: Kreolische Studien III. Über das Indoportugiesische von Diu.
- **1883**: Kreolische Studien VI. Über das Indoportugiesische von Mangalore.
- **1889**: Beiträge zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanisch: VI. Zum Indoportugiesischen von Mahé und Cannanore.
- **1889**: Beiträge zur Kenntnis des creolischen Romanisch. V. Allgemeineres über das Indoportugiesische (Asiportugiesische).
- **1890**: Kreolische Studien IX. Über das Malaiportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu.
- **ms.**: Zum Indoportugiesischen von Ceylon [ed. by de Silva Jayasuriya 1999]

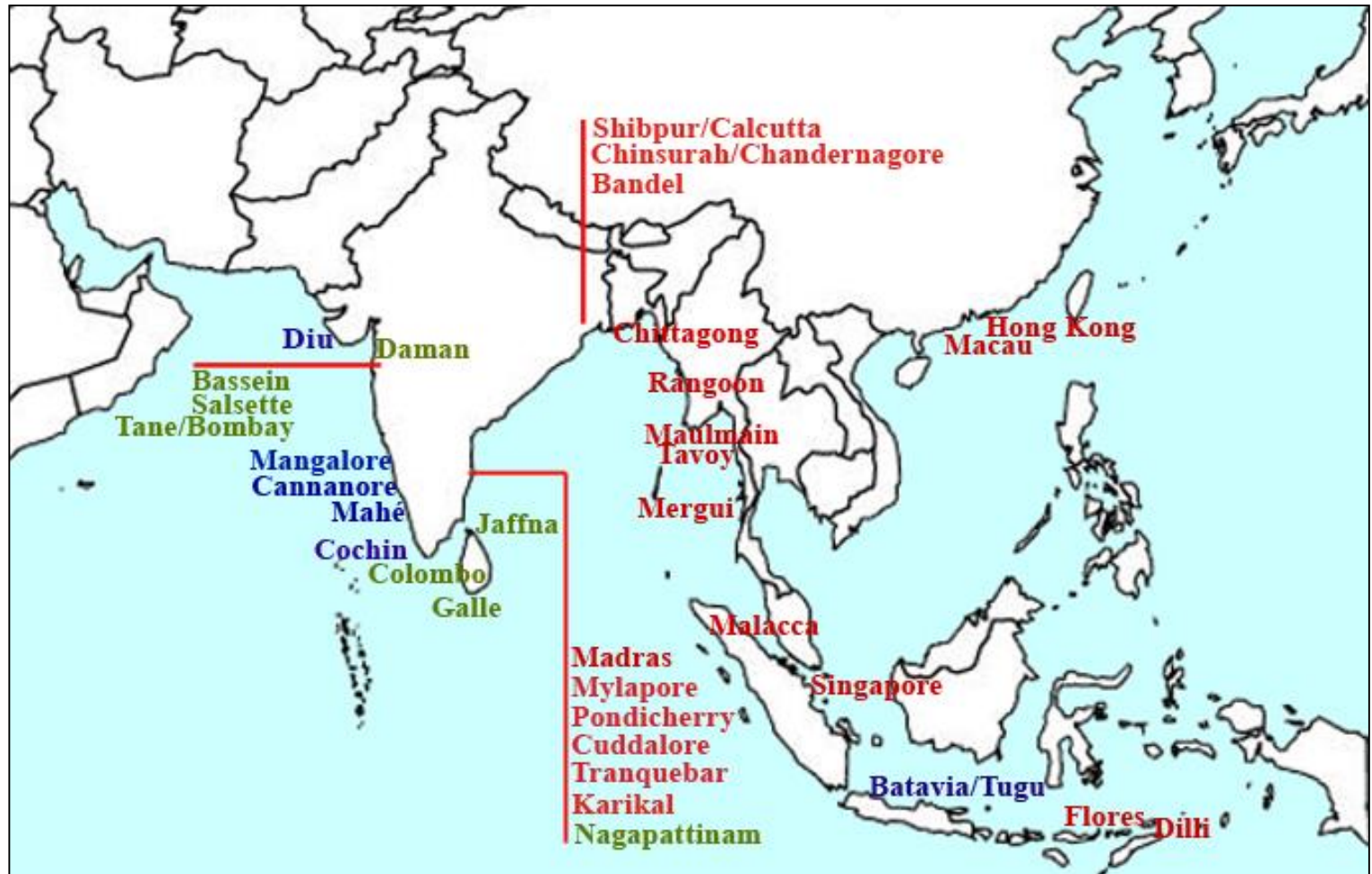
The epistolary corpus

- 30 correspondents write about Luso-Asian creoles:
 - a) Priests and missionaries (e.g. Louis St. Cyr, Angelus Maffei, Paul-Ambroise Bigandet,...);
 - b) Colonial administrators (e.g. Perry da Câmara, German Consulate in Batavia, Dr. Bos,...);
 - c) Philologists/linguists (e.g. Adolfo Coelho, Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, Robert Caldwell, Julien Vinson, William Goonetilleke,...);
 - d) Others (e.g. Mr. d'Cruz,...).

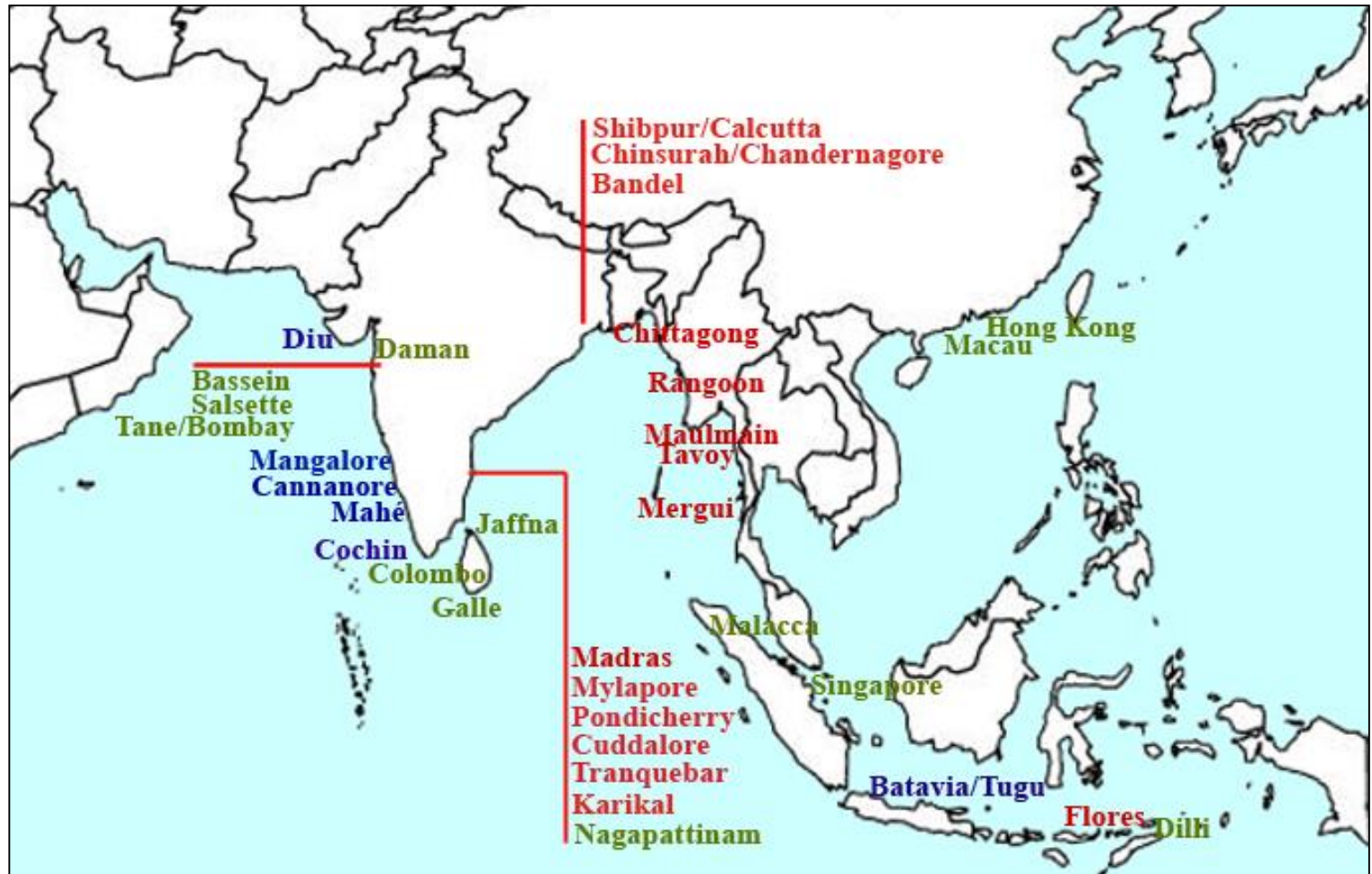
Locations



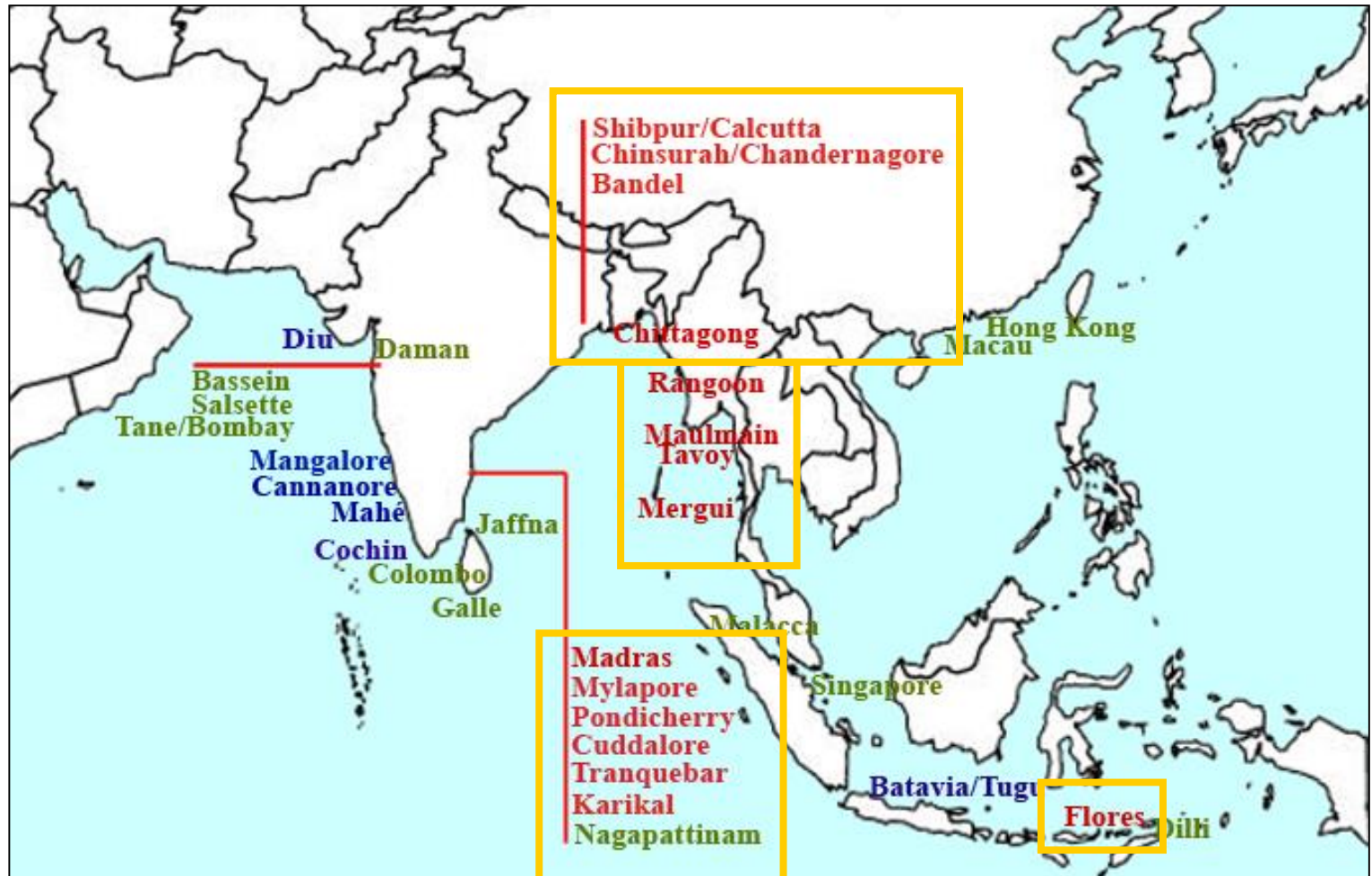
Locations



Locations



Locations



Coromandel Coast

Locations



Madras [Chennai]

São Tomé [Mylapore]

Pondicherry [Puducherry]

Cuddalore

Tranquebar [Tharangambadi]

Karikal [Karaikal]

Nagapattinam

Sources

- **Julien Vinson, French linguist and indologist, raised in Pondicherry;**
- **Louis St. Cyr, French missionary of the Madurai Mission (Sousa 2014a);**
- **António Tomás da Silva Leitão e Castro, bishop-prelate of Mozambique, former resident of Mylapore (Sousa 2015);**
- **Robert Caldwell, Anglican missionary, bishop of Tirunelveli and linguist;**
- **William Miller, Scottish missionary operating in the Madras Mission.**

Miller (May 19th, 1884)

*[...] I have consulted the members of the Portuguese Mission here. You have also yourself written to Father Gonsalvez and if anything can be done to help you he is the most likely person to do it. But **the indigenous Portuguese have either disappeared or become Anglicized on this coast – where they were never numerous – to such an extent that I have little hope of success.***

Caldwell (Mar 3rd, 1884)

[...] If I had been at all in India I should have been happy to endeavour to obtain for you the information you desire respecting the local varieties of the Indo-Portuguese language spoken on the Coromandel Coast. There is a considerable number of Indo-Portuguese Christians in all the large towns on the Coast, including especially St.. Thomé, a suburb of Madras. Most of these persons have ceased to speak Portuguese, but in the recently published Reprint of the Indian Census of 1881 (Vol I, p 200) – I find that 3,641 persons are entered as speaking Portuguese in the Madras Presidency. [...]

Vinson (Aug 24th, 1882)

[...] Il n'y a point de patois créole dans les établissements français de l'Inde ; on y parle, ou français ou tamoul (c. à d. ou français ou l'idiome du pays). Il ne s'est formé aucun langage mixte, composite, analogue au créole. Quelques mots indiens ont seulement passé dans le langage courant parmi les descendants d'européens et réciproquement. Les mulâtres parlent à peu près tous un dialecte indo-portugais. [...]

There is no creole *patois* whatsoever in the French establishments of India; there, people speak either French or Tamil (that is, either French or the local language). No mixed or composite language formed analogous to a creole. Just some Indian words entered the language used by the descendants of Europeans, and vice-versa. **Almost all mulattoes speak an Indo-Portuguese dialect.**

St. Cyr (Jul 17th, 1883)

[...] 1^o. Dans la Mission du Maduré, [...] l'élément Portugais est insensible et presque nul. Les Hollandais, dès la première moitié du 17 siècle, s'étant emparés de Négapatam, Tutucurin et autres villes du littoral, les Portugais qui s'y étaient établis, quittèrent en grand nombre le pays, et ceux qui y restèrent finirent pour laplupart, par être absorbés dans l'élément Hollandais et puis dans l'élément Anglais. A Négapatam l'on trouve encore une vingtaine de familles de Portugais mélangés, quelques unes portant de beaux noms, comme d'Ataide, d'Albuquerque, de Baretto etc etc; mais elles sont très pauvres et ne jouissent d'acucune considération.

1st. In the Madurai Mission, the Portuguese element is unnoticeable and almost absent. With the Dutch, since the mid 17th century, having taken control of Nagapattinam, Tuticorin and other coastal towns, the Portuguese who had settled there left the area in large numbers, and those who stayed mostly ended up being absorbed into the Dutch element and, later on, into the English element. In Nagapattinam, we still find some twenty families of mixed Portuguese, some with beautiful names such as d'Ataide, d'Albuquerque, de Baretto etc etc; but they are very poor and enjoy no consideration.

St. Cyr (Jul 17th, 1883)

2^e. Quant à la langue Portugaise, elle est, on peut dire, maintenant inconnue dans ces parages du Maduré, et elle ne s'enseigne nulle part. Les quelques familles dont j'ai fait mention plus haut parlent encore dans leurs maisons une sorte de Portugais; mais l'Anglais et le Tamoul, langue du pays, y sont plus communément employés.

Ces remarques s'appliquent uniquement à notre Mission du Maduré, car nous savons qu'en d'autres parties de l'Inde, comme Madras, Cochin, Bombay, Calcutta etc., l'élément Portugais s'est mieux conservé et est plus marqué. [...]

2nd. With respect to the Portuguese language, we can say that it is currently unknown in these parts of Madurai, and it is not taught anywhere. **The few families I have mentioned above still speak a kind of Portuguese in their homes;** but English and Tamil, the local language, are used more often there.

These observations apply only to our Madurai Mission, because we know that, **in other parts of India, such as Madras, Cochin, Bombay, Calcutta etc., the Portuguese element has resisted better and is more evident.**

Leitão e Castro (Jan 30th, 1884)

[...] Percorrendo a costa de Coromandel e residindo algum tempo em Meliapor, nada encontrei escripto em portuguez-creoulo e não creio que haja.

Em Meliapor e Madras poucas pessoas existem já que o fallem, mas ao contrario em Cuddalore, em Pondichery, em Tranquebar e em Karical, é essa a língua de que se serve o povo Est-Indio christão, ou homens de chapéu. Differe porem tanto do nosso portuguez, que não é possível fazer a mais pequena idea do que aquelles indios nos querem significar, fallando-a, nem nós conseguimos que elles comprehendam o nosso portuguez.

Having travelled the Coromandel Coast and having resided for a while in Mylapore, I have found nothing written in Creole Portuguese, and I do not think there is anything.

In Mylapore and Madras, there are now few people who speak it, but, on the contrary, in Cuddalore, Pondicherry, Tranquebar, and Karical, that is the language used by the christian East Indian people, or hatted men. However, it differs so much from our Portuguese that it is impossible to have the slightest idea of what those Indians want to say to us, nor are we able to make them understand our Portuguese.

Leitão e Castro (Jan 30th, 1884)

A lingua portugueza misturada ali com o tamul, com o francez, com o inglez, que é hoje a lingua official em toda a costa, se exceptuarmos os pequenos territorios de Pondichery e Karikal, corrompeu-se me parece, perdendo as palavras portuguezas a sua terminação, com a rapidez da pronuncia; seguindo-se na declinação dos nomes, na conjugação dos verbos e na collocação transposta das palavras, a indole de linguas estranhas, como o inglez e o tamul; designando-se uns objectos pelo seu nome tamul, outros pelo que tem em portuguez, ou inglez, e admittindo-se dessas diferentes linguas uma ou outra parte da oração.

The Portuguese language, mixed there with Tamil, French, and English, which is nowadays the official language of the entire coast, with the exception of the small territories of Pondicherry and Karikal, has become corrupted, it seems to me, with the **Portuguese words losing their endings** with the speed of pronunciation; **following the ways of foreign languages, such as English and Tamil, in the declension of nouns, the conjugation of verbs, and the transposed placement of words; designating some objects by their Tamil name, others by the name they have in Portuguese or English, and admitting from those languages one part of the clause or another.**

Leitão e Castro (Jan 30th, 1884)

Assim o infinito impessoal dos verbos, ou qualquer tempo ou pessoa delles, passaram a designar todos os tempos e pessoas. Mim papiar dizem elles por exemplo em vez de “eu fallo” Vóç Pad têm bom? por “Você, Padre, está bom?” Mim za tá vai por “Vou-me embora, ou retiro-me já” Bêrig (barriga) fóóm (fome) comê (comer) por “tenho fome; quero comer”. [...]

O portuguez creoulo differe pois do nosso

1º na entoação da voz imitada d'outras linguas

2º no modo rapido de pronunciar por alli as palavras juntando o fim d'umas com o principio das outras de modo que nada se percebe

So, the impersonal infinitive of verbs, or any other tense or person, came to designate all tenses and persons. For example, *Mim papiar* is what they say for “I speak” *Vóç Pad têm bom?* for “Father, are you well?” *Mim za tá vai* for “I am leaving right away” *Bêrig* (belly) *fóóm* (hunger) *comê* (eat) for “I am hungry, I want to eat”.

Creole Portuguese therefore differs from ours

1st in the **intonation** of the voice, imitated from other languages

2nd in the **rapid pronunciation** of words there, fusing the end of one with the beginning of another in such a way that you cannot understand anything

Leitão e Castro (Jan 30th, 1884)

3º nas palavras portuguezas adulteradas por omissão de syllabas, tanto no fim como no principio, e.g. a palavra estar que fica reduzida a tá, supprimindo-se lhe a primeira syllaba e o r da ultima

4º na significação de muitas dessas palavras como têr, significando estar

5º na introducção de palavras estrangeiras igualmente, como as nossas, estropiadas.

3rd in the adulteration of Portuguese words **through the omission of syllables as much at the end as at the beginning**, e.g. the word *estar*, which is **reduced to tá** by suppressing the first syllable and the *r* of the last one

4th in the **meaning** of many of those words, such as *ter* meaning *estar*

5th in the **introduction of foreign words**, just as adulterated as ours.

Leitão e Castro (Jan 30th, 1884)

6º em não se declinarem os nomes nem se conjugarem os verbos, nem se distinguir o genero e numero dos adjectivos, servindo um caso qualquer da declinação, um tempo e uma pessoa qualquer do verbo, um genero, ou um numero qualquer do nome substantivo ou adjectivo, para tudo quanto querem exprimir.

7º Na falta do cumprimento das nossas regras de syntaxe, de modo que não preside uma ideia, um pensamento geral, quer no emprego e collocação das palavras para formarem orações, quer no destas para comporem o discurso

6th in **not declining nouns nor conjugating verbs, nor distinguishing the gender and number of adjectives**, with one case of the declension, one tense and one person of the verb, one gender or number of the noun or adjective for all that they wish to express.

7th In the **lack of compliance with our rules of syntax**, in such a way that no idea or a general thought presides over either the use or the placement of words to form clauses, or the placement of these to compose speech

Coromandel - Summary

Main characteristics:

- Code-switching;
- Borrowings (from English and Tamil);
- Perceived differences in intonation and rate of speech (in relation to Portuguese);
- Reduction/Elision of post-stress syllables (of the etymon): e.g. *Pad* (>Pt. *Padre*), *Bêrig* (>Pt. *barriga*);
- Invariant nouns and adjectives;
- Invariant verbs, normally based on Ptg. infinitive (e.g. *papiar*); but see *tên* (>Pt. *tem*) and *vai* (>Pt. *vai*);

Coromandel - Summary

Main characteristics:

- Personal pronouns: 1s = *mim* (> Pt. form used with prepositions); 2s = *vóç* (<Pt. vós or *você*);
- Functional conflation of Pt. possessive verb *ter* and stage-level copula *estar* (e.g. *Vóç Pad tên bom?*);
- Verbal operator *tá* from Pt. *estar*, e.g. *Mim za tá vai* (continuous/imperfective?);
- Peculiar word order (in relation to Portuguese);
- Extreme ellipsis (?): *Bêrig fóóm comê*.

Bengal

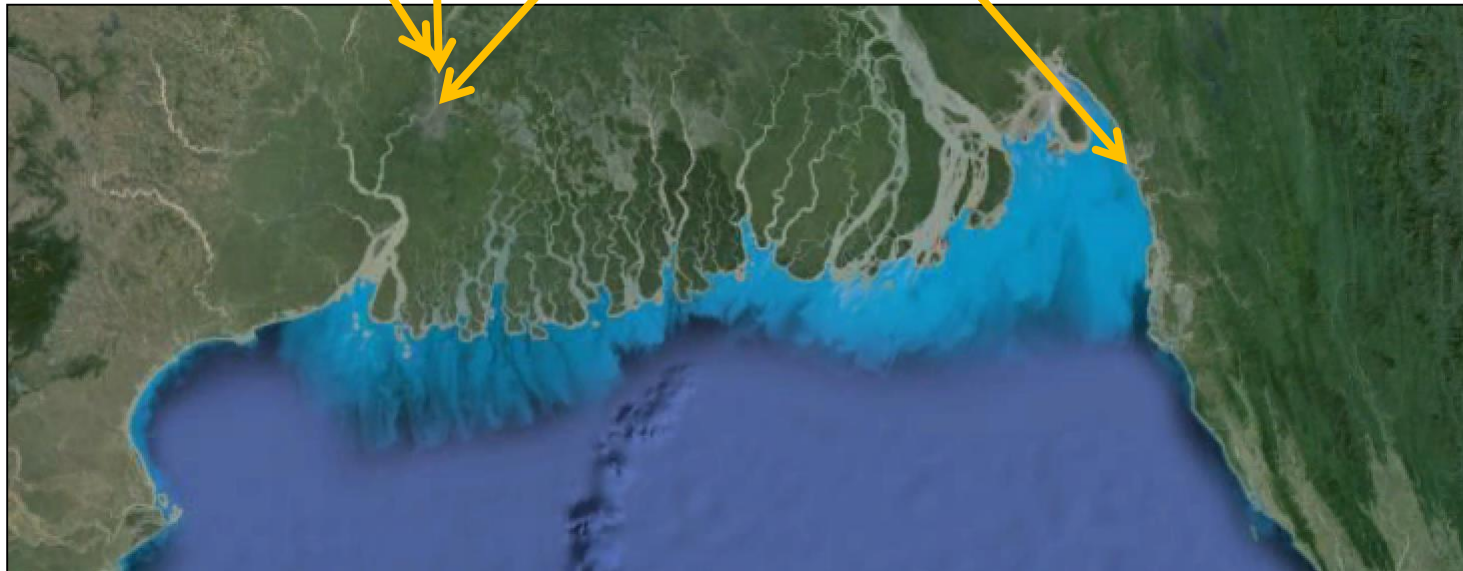
Locations

Chinsurah / Bandel

Chandernagor [Chandannagar]

Calcutta [Kolkata] / Shibpur

Chittagong



Sources

- **António Tomás da Silva Leitão e Castro, bishop-prelate of Mozambique, former resident of Mylapore (Sousa 2015);**
- **John Beames, British civil servant who served in India (the Punjab, but especially Bengal).**

Leitão e Castro (Jan 30th, 1884)

O mesmo se pode dizer do portuguez que falla uma ou outra familia christian, em Bandel, em Chinsurá em Calcutá, em Sibpur e em Chandernagor na Presidencia de Bengala, onde as linguas misturadas são, alem do inglez, o bengali e o industani; e a respeito do que fallam alguns indigenas christãos de Baçaim e Salcette da Presidencia de Bombaim, corrompido com a mistura do maratha, do industani e do inglez, e onde por exemplo para perguntarem como está dizem “qu ê lá é tên” [...]

The same can be said of the Portuguese spoken by **one or another christian family in Bandel, in Chinsurah in Calcutta, in Shibpur and in Chandernagor in the Bengal Presidency**, where the mixed languages are, in addition to English, Bengali and Hindustani; and with respect to **what some indigenous christians speak in Bassein and Salcette of the Bombay Presidency**, corrupted by the mixture of Marathi, Hindustani and English, and where, for instance, to ask you how you are they say “qu ê lá é tên”

Beames (Feb 4th, 1884)

[...] I shall have much pleasure in making enquiries for you concerning the Indo-Portuguese patois spoken in Bengal. [...] I do not know those dialects though I am acquainted with the classical Portuguese language. [...]

There is a large colony of Portuguese in Chittagong on the Eastern side of the Bay of Bengal (the old Porto Grande). They are descended from the Portuguese pirates who infested the sea coast of Bengal in the 16th. century. They are not pure blood, but have intermarried with the Mags a Burmese tribe of these parts & have strongly marked Mongolian features. They mostly speak a corrupt dialect of Bengali, only a few can speak English and fewer still Portuguese. But there are many Portuguese in Calcutta and at Bandel near this place (25 miles north of Calcutta) where they have a church Nossa Senhora do Rosario built 1599. [...]

Burma [Myanmar]

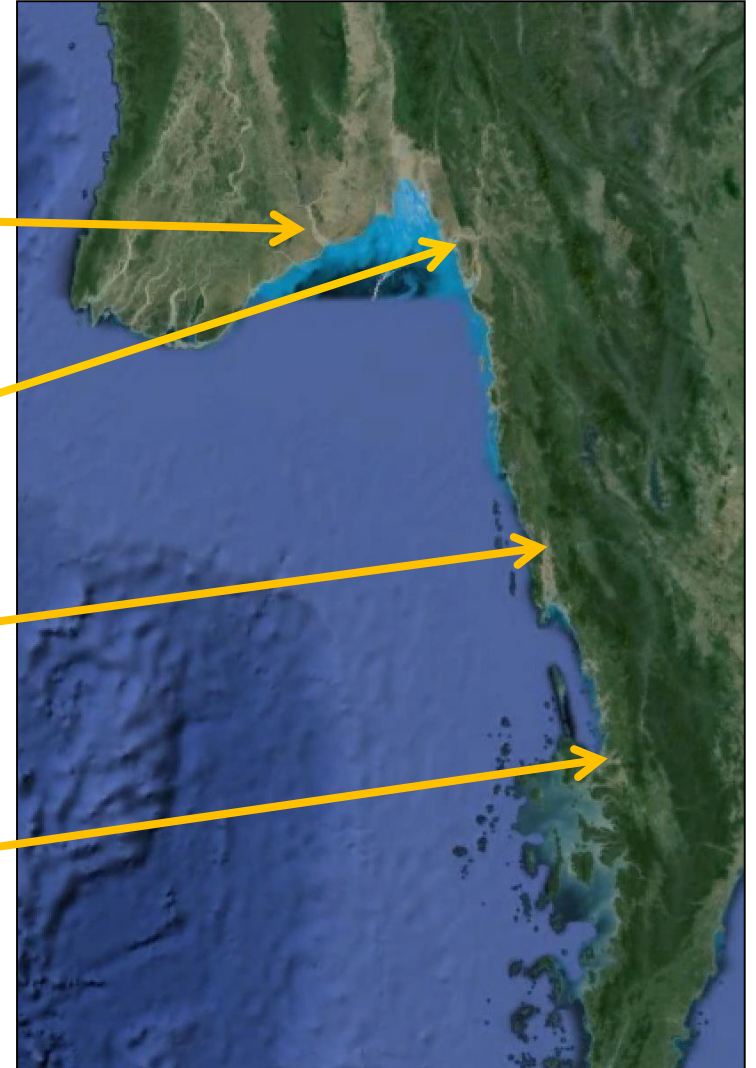
Locations

Rangoon [Yangon]

Maulmain [Mawlamyine]

Tavoy [Dawei]

Mergui [Myeik]



Source

- **Paul-Ambroise Bigandet, French missionary, Vicar-Apostolic of Southern Burma and scholar of Buddhism.**

Bigandet (Mar 21st, 1882)

[...] j'ai le regret de vous faire savoir que la langue portugaise, je veux dire le Patois honoré de ce titre, a complètement disparu de Rangoon, Maulmain, Tavoy et Mergui, c'est à un tel point, que je peux à peine trouver une personne dans ces quatre localités qui puisse converser en Portugais. Lorsque j'arrivai en 1837 sur la côte Tenasserim, j'ai dû me mettre à apprendre le Patois Portugais pour me faire comprendre des Chrétiens. Mais je ne tardais pas à me [?] que cette langue, à peine comprise de ceux qui la parlaient, ne pourrait être le moyen pour communiquer l'instruction religieuse aux pauvres [...]

I regret to inform you that the Portuguese language, that is **the Patois honoured with that title, has completely disappeared from Rangoon, Maulmain, Tavoy and Mergui**, and to such an extent that I can only find one person in these four locations who can converse in Portuguese. **When I arrived, in 1837, on the Coast of Tenasserim, I had to start learning the Portuguese Patois to make myself understood by the Christians.** But I soon [realised?] that this language, understood only by those who spoke it, could not be the means to impart religious instruction to the poor

Bigandet (Mar 21st, 1882)

[...] *Dans l'espace de 40 et quelques années, le patois portugais a absolument disparu. A mon arrivée à Tavoy, en 1837, on chantait à le Noël, à l'Epiphanie des cantiques en Portugais, mais ils ont aussi disparu. Plusieurs vieillards et vieilles que j'ai interrogés au sujet de ces cantiques m'ont dit qu'étant enfants, ils se souviennent d'en avoir entendu parler. [...]*

Les points saillants du patois Portugais tel que je l'ai trouvé, ces sont 1^e omission presque entière de l'article.

2^e Bien souvent le pluriel du substantif est inusité.

3^e Presque toutes modifications des noms, et pronoms, sont mises de côté.

Within 40 something years, the Portuguese *patois* completely disappeared. **When I arrived in Tavoy, in 1837, they used to sing Portuguese hymns during Christmas, for Epiphany, but these have also disappeared.** Several old men and women that I have inquired from with regard to these hymns told me that **they remember hearing it being spoken when they were children.**

The salient characteristics of the Portuguese *patois*, as I found it, are 1st **near total omission of the article.**

2nd Often, **the plural of the noun is unusual.**

3rd Almost all **modifications of nouns and pronouns are neglected.**

Bigandet (Mar 21st, 1882)

4^e Les adjectifs qualifiant un nom au pluriel ont la forme du singulier

5^e Ce qui désigne le passé et le futur est exprimé par deux simples mots: ja, et lo, ajoutés au présent. La consonne finale r de l'infinitif est toujours laissée de côté. [...]

Je regrette qu'il ne soit pas en mon pouvoir de vous donner de plus amples renseignements, ni de trouver quelqu'un qui puisse le faire. Car ce patois, outre qu'il n'est plus parlé, excepté à Malacca, n'a jamais été écrit ni étudié, et n'a été qu'une lingua franca des ignorants, et surtout des marins. [...]

4th The **adjectives that qualify a plural noun have the singular form.**

5th What designates past and future is expressed by two simple words: **ja, and lo, added to the present. The final r consonant of the infinitive is always left aside.**

I regret that it is not in my power to give you more complete information nor find someone who can do so. **For this patois, in addition to no longer being spoken, except in Malacca, was never written nor studied, and was no more than a lingua franca of the ignorant, and especially of the seamen.**

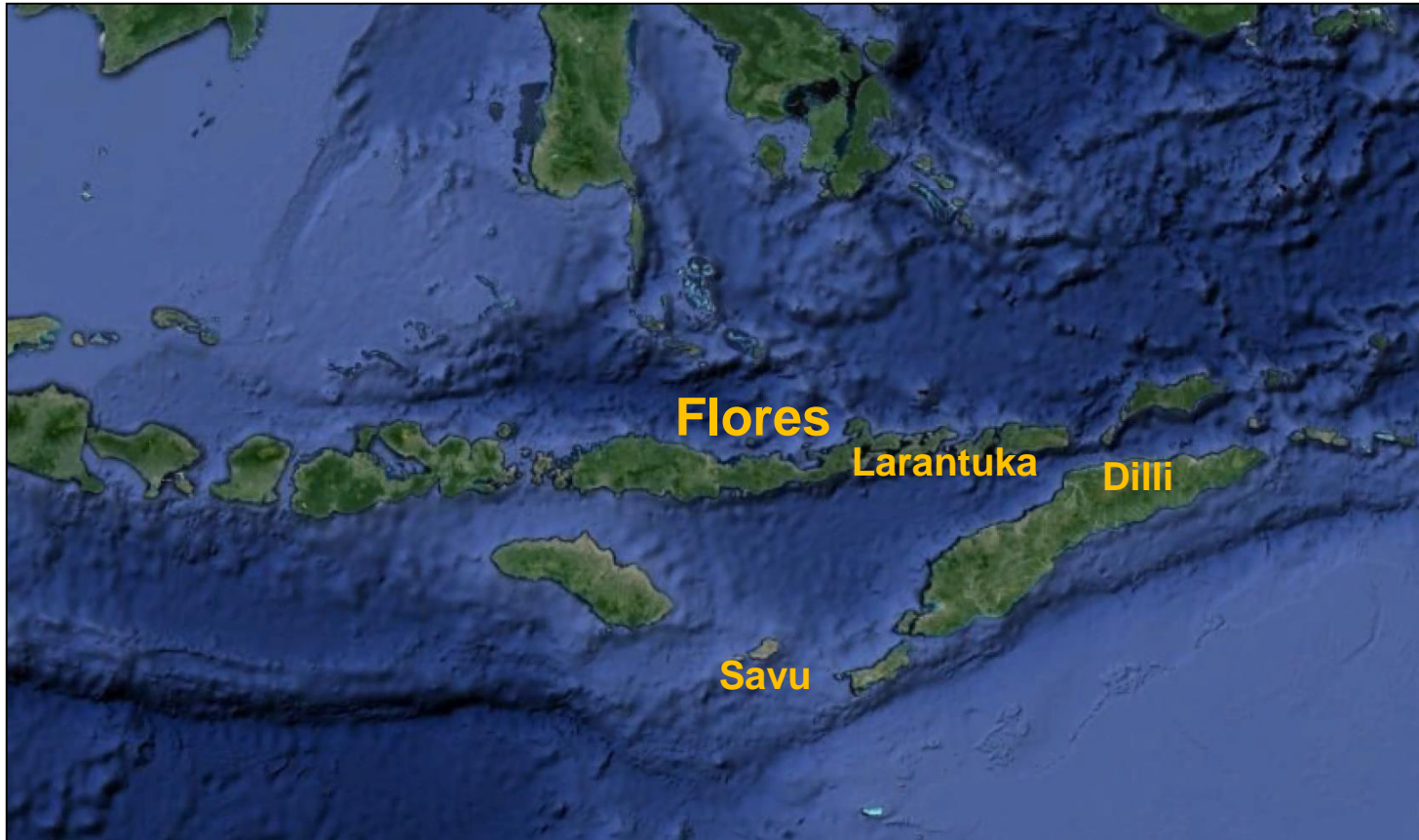
Burma - Summary

Main characteristics:

- Apocope of *-r* (from the etymon) in verbs;
- (Near-total?) absence of nominal and pronominal morphology;
- Unusual plural forms (suppletion? reduplication?);
- No number agreement between adjective and noun;
- (Near-total?) absence of article;
- Verbal operators *ja* (past) and *lo* (future).

Flores island

Location



Sources

- George Karel Niemann, Dutch naturalist (Sousa 2014b);
- Timon Henricus der Kinderen, secretary of the *Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* [Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences]; (Ahlgrimm-Siess 2014);
- José dos Santos Vaquinhas, Portuguese military man and colonial administrator who served in Timor;
- Johan Hendrik Kern, Dutch philologist, born in Java (Sousa 2014c).

Niemann (Jul 20th, 1883)

[...] Herr Humme, der mehrere Jahre resident auf Timor war, hat mir bestimmt gesagt dass weder auf dem holländisches Timor noch bei den schwarzen Portugiesen auf Flores ein portugiesisches Jargon gesprochen wird; nur finden sich in dem auf Timor & Flores gesprochenes Malaiischen mehrere Portugiesische Wörter und Ausdrücke.

Mister Humme, who resided in Timor for several years, has assured me that **neither in Dutch Timor nor among the black Portuguese of Flores is a Portuguese jargon spoken**; one only finds in the Malay spoken in Timor and Flores several Portuguese words and expressions.

der Kinderen (Nov 6th, 1884)

[...] Auch erhielten wir einen Brief von Herrn Heslinga, R. K. Pfarrer zu Larantuka auf der Insel Flores, worin er meldet dasz in den Kampung's and dem Seestrand Malaiisch geredet wird, welches zwar viele portugiesische Wörter enthalten ein Jargon aber, wie is in Ihren Creolischen Studien angegeben, daselbst nicht zu finden ist.

We also received a letter from Mr. Heslinga, Roman Catholic minister of Larantuka on Flores island, in which he reports that in the town and the along the coast Malay is used, and although it contains many Portuguese words, **no jargon can be found there** as indicated in your Creole Studies.

Kern (Jul 27th, 1889)

[...] *In der Voraussetzung, dass es Sie interessiren dürfte, sende ich Ihnen nebenbei ein sogen. „Portugiesisches Pantun“ aus der Insel Flores (Ost, Larantuka), mit der Malayischen Uebersetzung oder was als solches von einem Eingeborenen geboten worden ist. Nicht nur in dem Malayischen Text, dessen Schwächen sich leicht erklären aus dem Umstande, dass Malayisch nicht die Sprache der Eingeborenen ist, sondern auch im Portugiesischen ist mir manches dunkel. Es scheinen einzelne Ausdrücke aus der Landessprache hineingerathen zu sein; jedenfalls ist mené ein Wort für „Kind“. [...] Das Curiosum ist mir zugeschickt worden von einem niederl. Missionar auf Savu. Wie und von wem er dort das „Pantun“ erhalten hat, schreibt er nicht.*

Considering that it may interest you, **I am sending you a so-called "Portuguese Pantun" from the island of Flores (East, Larantuka)**, with the Malay translation or whatever has been offered by a local as such. Not only in the Malay text, whose weaknesses are easily explained by the fact that Malay is not the language of the locals, but also in Portuguese are some things not clear to me. **It seems to fall back on peculiar formulations of the local language; in either case, mené is the word for "child".** [...] The excerpt was sent to me by a Dutch Missionary in Savu. How and from whom he got the "Pantun" he does not write.

Vaquinhas (Nov 3rd, 1884?)

[...] eu mesmo ouvi fallar em Batavia o portuguez corrupto [...] as pessoas que negam que em Batavia se falla o portuguez por aquella fórma, desconhecem por certo a língua portugueza e sobre tudo o que seja o portuguez corrupto; pois de contrario não posso explicar como haja quem negue a existencia de um tal facto.

Eu tambem posso assegurar a V Ex.a que n'alguns pontos da ilha Flores e n'outras proximas se falla ainda o mesmo portuguez corrupto, o que tive occasião de observar durante 16 annos que vivi na Oceania, onde aprendi a fallar alguns dialectos d'aquelles insulares e fiz muitas viagens por aquellas ilhas.

I myself heard corrupted Portuguese spoken in Batavia [...] the people who deny that such a form of Portuguese is spoken in Batavia certainly do not know the Portuguese language and above all what corrupted Portuguese is; otherwise, I cannot explain how some people deny the truth of such a fact.

I can also assure Your Excellency that **in some places of the island of Flores and others close to it the same corrupted Portuguese is still spoken**, which I had a chance of observing over 16 years that I lived in Oceania, where I learnt to speak some dialects of those islanders and made many trips around those islands.

Vaquinhas (Nov 30th, 1885)

Eu envio incluso uns apontamentos do portuguez crioulo fallado em Dilly; o portuguez corrompido que se falla em Larantuka (Flores) é o mesmo que se falla em Dilly.

I attach some notes on the creole Portuguese spoken in Dilli; **the corrupted Portuguese spoken in Larantuka (Flores) is the same which is spoken in Dilli.**

Vaquinhas (Jul 14th, 1886)

Muito filhos dos regulos e principaes de Larantuka foram educados nas escolas portuguezas em Okusse (Lifaú) e da hi veem elles fallar o portuguez crioulo em Larantuka. Actualmente estão estudando com os missionarios portuguezes na escola de Lahane (em Dilly) alguns rapazes de Larantuka; não perdem estes nunca o ensejo de aprender o portuguez de que com o andar dos annos se esquecem e dá hi vem o fallarem o portuguez corrupto ou portuguez crioulo.

Many sons of the kings and rulers of *Larantuka* were educated in the Portuguese schools of *Oecusse (Lifau)*, and that is why creole came to be spoken in *Larantuka*. Currently, some boys from *Larantuka* are studying with the Portuguese missionaries in the school of Lahane (in Dilli); **they never lose their will to learn Portuguese, which they forget as the years go by, and that is why they come to speak corrupted Portuguese or creole Portuguese.**

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